

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 02559 01 OF 02 301200 Z

15

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 INRE-00 CCO-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 AECE-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 OMB-01 RSR-01

/131 W

----- 063515

O P 291741 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8259

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

ALL MBFR CAPITALS PRIORITY 302

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USLOSACLANT PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

UDSOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

USDEL SALT TWO II PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2559

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (R E N U M B E R I N G O F P A R A G R A P H S)

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: ROUNDUP OF INITIAL TALKS FEBRUARY 17 - MARCH23

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

REF: VIENNA 1325

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING THE LAST FIVE WEEKS, THE MBFR
INITIAL TALKS (MIT) HAVE CONTINUED TO CONCENTRATE ALMOST EX-
CLUSIVELY ON THE ISSUE OF HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION. ON FEBRUARY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 VIENNA 02559 01 OF 02 301200 Z

21, IN AN EFFORT TO INCLUDE HUNGARY AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT, THE ALLIES ADVANCED A POSSIBLE SOLUTION IN WHICH THE CRITERION FOR STATUS AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT WAS HAVING FORCES OR TERRITORY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE EAST REJECTED THIS POSITION ON FEBRUARY 23, INSISTING THAT HUNGARY COULD ONLY BE INCLUDED AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT IF ITALY WERE ALSO. THE PACT REFUSAL OF THE ALLIED PROPOSAL OF FEBRUARY 21 LED TO AN EXTENDED NAC DEBATE OVER THE RIGHT COURSE TO FOLLOW IN DEALING WITH HUNGARY LASTING FROM FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 13, CULMINATING IN AGREEMENT THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD PROPOSE THAT THE STATUS OF HUNGARY BE LEFT IN ABEYANCE AND THAT THE PRECISE CHARACTER OF HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION BE KEPT OPEN FOR LATER DECISION. THE SOVIETS RESPONDED TO THE FIRST ALLIED PRESENTATIONS ON THIS PROPOSAL ON MARCH 14 BY STATING THAT HUNGARY MUST BE EITHER LISTED AS AN INDIRECT PARTICIPANT OR IF AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT, ITALY MUST ALSO BE LISTED AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

2. DURING THE THIRD WEEK OF MARCH, SOVIET AND HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATIVES BEGAN TO DISCUSS IN POSITIVE TERMS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WEST MIGHT IN A UNILATERAL STATEMENT RESERVE ITS RIGHT TO BRING UP THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE IN NEGOTIATIONS. BEGINNING ON MARCH 22, HOWEVER, SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES BEGAN TO CLAIM THAT THEY LACKED INSTRUCTIONS WHICH WOULD PERMIT THEM TO FOLLOW UP THIS POSSIBILITY, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HAVE CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT THE STATUS OF HUNGARY BE LEFT IN ABEYANCE FOR DECISION AT A LATER STAGE.

3. A NUMBER OF OTHER TOPICS HAVE ALSO BEEN DISCUSSED WITH THE EAST IN THE QUADRILATERAL MEETINGS, AT THE WEEKLY DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION, OR THROUGH OTHER INFORMAL CONTACTS. FOR THE MOST PART, THESE HAVE TAKEN THE FORM OF PROBES INITIATED BY THE EAST ON THE NATURE OF WESTERN AGENDA FORMULATIONS. THEY HAVE REVEALED THAT THE EAST'S CURRENT CONCEPT APPEARS TO BE AN ABBREVIATED AGENDA CONSISTING OF PERHAPS ONLY ONE ITEM ON REDUCTIONS OF FORCES THAT WOULD SUBSUME ALL OTHERS. NO REAL DIALOGUE, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN ENTERED INTO ON THIS SUBJECT BECAUSE BOTH SIDES HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO GO FURTHER UNTIL THE HUNGARIAN PROBLEM HAS BEEN SOLVED. THE AD HOC GROUP HAS UTILIZED THE PERIODS OF NAC DELIBERATION TO DEVELOP AND REFINE THE AGREED AGENDA POINTS FOR PRESENTATION TO THE EAST, END SUMMARY.

4. HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION. THE ISSUE OF HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 VIENNA 02559 01 OF 02 301200 Z

IPATION IN MBFR EXPLORATIONS CONTINUED TO DOMINATE DISCUSSIONS

DURING THE PAST FIVE WEEKS. ALTHOUGH INITIALLY VIEWED BY THE WEST AS A SOVIET TACTICAL PLOY, THE SERIOUSNESS OF EASTERN INTENT WAS MADE CLEAR IN A FEBURARY 10 MEETING BETWEEN SOVIET, US, AND NETHERLANDS REPS, WHEN THE SOVIET VIEW WAS FORMALLY PRESENTED THAT HUNGARY SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE LIST OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS UNLESS ITALY WAS ADDED AS COMPENSATION.

5. AFTER EACH OF TWO SEPARATE PERIODS OF DIFFICULT DABATE (FEBRUARY 7-19 AND FEBRUARY 27- MARCH 13), THE NAC AUTHORIZED THE WESTERN EMISSARIES TO OFFER A DIFFERENT POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THE HUNGARIAN IMPASSE. THE FIRST, A COSMETIC PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENT THAT CLEARLY INCLUDED HUNGARY AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT BECAUSE OF A REQUIREMENT THAT IT ANNOUNCE ITSELF AS SUCH IN THE FIRST PLENARY, EVEN THOUGH THE AGREED PAPER WOULD NOT SO SPECIFY, WAS ADVANCED TO THE SOVIETS ON FEBRUARY 20 AND REJECTED BY THEM OUT OF HAND THREE DAYS LATER. THE SECOND NAC AUTHORIZATION WAS PRESENTED FIRST ON MARCH 13 AND DISCUSSION OF IT IS STILL UNDERWAY, THES SOLUTION WOULD PLACE HUNGARY'S STATUS IN ABEYANCE UNTIL A LATER DATE, BUT WOULD ESTABLISH THE STATUS OF ALL 18 OTHER PARTICIPANTS.

6. INTENSIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE EAST HAVE CONTINUED SINCE MARCH 13 ON THE BASIS OF THE NAC GUIDANCE. ALTHOUGH THE EAST OBVIOUSLY CONSIDERES THE ABEYANCE APPROACH TO BE A SERIOUS WESTERN PROPOSAL, AND HAS GONE OVER SEVERAL VARIATIONS OF IT IN DETAIL WITH THE DUTCH AND US REPS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ARE INSISTENT THAT HUNGARY BE A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT. THE SOVIET AND HUNGARIAN REPS HAVE REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT EITHER SOME COMPENSATION, PARTICULARLY INCLUSION OF ITALY AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT, WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE FOR INCLUSION OF HUNGARY AS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT, OR HUNGARY WOULD BE A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT.

CONFIDENTIAL

ADP000
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 02559 02 OF 02 301200 Z

11
ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 AECE-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00

PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-14 INRE-00 AEC-11 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 OIC-04 OMB-01 RSR-01 NSCE-00 CCO-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 /142 W

----- 063527

O P 291741 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8260

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

ALL MBFR CAPITALS PRIORITY 303

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

URCBSAA/ USLOSACLANT PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

USDOCOSOUTH PRIORITY

USDEL SALT TWO II PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 2559

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (R E N U M B E R I N G O F P A R A G R A P H S)

7. DURING THE LAST TWO WEEKS, THE SOVIETS HAVE ALSO RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF A COOPTION PROCEDURE WHEREBY STATES NOT PRESENTLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BECOME DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IF THEY WISHED UPON CONSENSUS APPROVAL BY THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE SOVIETS HAVE FRANKLY ADMITTED THAT PARTICIPATION OF FRANCE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS THEIR OBJECTIVE.

8. A NUMBER OF ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES REPORTED AT THE MARCH 23 AD HOC GROUP MEETING HAVING RECEIVED INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD ASKED FOR NEW INSTRUCTIONS AND EXPECTED SOMETHING BY MARCH 27 OR 28. THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT, WHATEVER THE PRECISE RESPONSE, IT WILL REJECT ABEYANCE AND INSIST ON INDIRECT PARTICIPATION STATUS FOR HUNGARY, THOUGH IT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 VIENNA 02559 02 OF 02 301200 Z

MAY PERHAPS CONTAIN SOME PROVISION FOR UNILATERAL INTERPRETIVE STATEMENTS BY THE ALLIES AND PERHAPS HUNGARY ITSELF THAT PROVIDE SOME BASIS FOR RAISING THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE LATER.

9. AGENDA. THE AD HOC GROUP HAS DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE TIME TO THE PREPARATION OF AGENDA PAPERS AND TO COORDINATING THE OVERALL PRESENTATION OF THE WESTERN POSITION. PRESENT TENTATIVE PLANNING FORESEES THAT THE CANADIAN REP WOULD DELIVER AN OVERVIEW OF THE ALLIED APPROACH TO BE FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY STATEMENTS ON INDIVIDUAL AGENDA ITEMS BY A NUMBER OF OTHER WESTERN REPS WHO WOULD EACH EXPAND ON ONE AGENDA ITEM. THESE PRESENTATIONS WOULD AFTERWARDS BE GIVEN TO THE EAST. IN THIS WAY, THE PACT STATES WOULD BE GIVEN A TOTAL PICTURE TO WHICH THEY COULD RESPOND. IN ADDITION, THE NATIONAL REP RESPONSIBLE FOR EACH ITEM COULD ALSO ACT AS A DISCUSSION LEADER IF ANY QUESTIONS

AROSE. THE NETHERLANDS AGREED TO HANDLE THE ITEM ON AREA, THE FRG ON PHASING, THE BELGIAN ON VERIFICATION, THE UK ON CONSTRAINTS, THE CANADIAN ON PRINCIPLES AND THE US ON FORCES. THIS PATTERN WILL BE USED IN THE EVENT THAT THE AGENDA IS DISCUSSED IN PLENARY SESSIONS.

10. DURING DISCUSSIONS OF THE AGENDA IN THE AD HOC GROUP, SEVERAL FAMILIAR INTRA- ALLIANCE CONTROVERSIES RE- EMERGED. THE UK/ FRG REPEATEDLY ATTEMPTED TO BROADEN LANGUAGE ON THE PHASED AND INTEGRAL APPROACH AND CONSTRAINTS AND TO EXCISE ALL REFERENCES TO REDUCTIONS. THE DUTCH AND UK SOUGHT AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO PREJUDICE PRESENTATIONS IN THE DIRECTION OF A WIDE CONSTRAINTS AREA. THE LANGUAGE FROM THE AGENDA SECTION OF THE GAP PAPER AGREED BY NATO IN JANUARY WAS REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO SOLVE THESE DISPUTES.

11. VENUE AND DATE. ALTHOUGH THE QUESTION OF VENUE HAS NOT BEEN FORMALLY ADDRESSED EITHER BY THE AD HOC GROUP OR WITH THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS, OPINION SEEMS TO BE CRYSTALIZING THAT VIENNA IS THE MOST PROBABLE SITE FOR THE ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS. SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP HAVE INDICATED THEY STILL PREFER GENEVA, BUT A RECENT COMMENT AT CSCE BY THE SWISS REPRESENTATIVE SEEMS TO HAVE FIRMLY CLOSED OFF THAT POSSIBILITY. THE EASTERN SIDE CLEARLY PREFERS VIENNA, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE SPEAKING OF A FALL DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NO DISCUSSION OF SPECIFICS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 VIENNA 02559 02 OF 02 301200 Z

12. SECURITY. THE QUESTION OF SECURITY OF INFORMATION HAS BEEN A PERSISTENT PROBLEM. BOTH THE LOCAL PRESS AND THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS HAVE REPEATEDLY ACQUIRED A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF FAIRLY ACCURATE INFORMATION ABOUT THE AD HOC GROUP MEETINGS AND NAC DELIBERATIONS. THIS HAS OCCURRED IN SPITE OF EMPHATIC DISCUSSION IN THE AD HOC GROUP DESIGNED TO CLOSE THE LEAKS. HUMES

CONFIDENTIAL

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 MAR 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA02559
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730344/aaaaitfh.tel
Line Count: 268
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION MBF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28-Aug-2001 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <25 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> wfs 980126
Subject: MBFR: ROUNDUP OF INITIAL TALKS FEBRUARY 17 - MARCH23
TAGS: PARM, AU
To: ALL MBFR CAPITALS
MBFR
SALT TALKS
SECSTATE WASHDC
UDSOCOSOUTH
USCINCEUR
USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

WASHDC

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005